important results of these patterns are the development of deference, egocentricity, and flexibility. 15 11x 3

Deference is directly learned from the injunctions of parents warning children against aggression but is also indirectly assimilated in the absence of a frustrating and authoritarian oedipal situation. Following the child's emotional rejection, no new blocks or frustrations are set in the path of the developing ego, although it cannot be denied that the personality continues to carry the memory of this trauma whose anxieties continue to interfere with the richest development of ego functions. Kaska parents, therefore, do not demand submission and self-abnegation which in an authoritarian climate may undermine self-esteem and engender hostility.* In the absence of such instigations to hostility, the positive lessons of parents against aggression can take a firm hold. This learning, it must be pointed out, further takes place in a personality whose emotional expressiveness, because of the emotionally isolating tendencies of the parents, is not being strongly stimulated. Positive injunctions to deference are therefore unaccompanied by alien forces or labile emotionality. The picture may be characterized as one of noncoercive isolation, and it is in such a restrictive setting that the tendencies of egocentricity, emotional isolation, and deference become intensified. The nonauthoritarian parents influence the adoption of a religious view lacking a stern, authoritarian, wonderfulness deity such as might be traced back to a harsh parental image. 5 1x 5

The previously achieved degree of ego tenacity is maintained by the fact that shame and ridicule are not used as disciplinary measures. In the absence of a strongly inculcated sense of duty and obedience, the child, to a considerable extent, decides his own course of behavior against the interpreted standards of his group. This does not imply failure to teach the child what is expected of him. The emphasis in such teaching, however, is to preserve the child's initiative, an effect that is further aided by the absence of constant adult watchfulness, supervision, or companionship. The Kaska child finds this freedom to develop responsibility and independence congenial, perceiving the value of these attitudes as defenses against the traumatic effects of emotional rejection and regressive dependence. He gradually drops the overt forms of a compulsive search for love and is better off than he would be in a society that not only patterned a withdrawal of affection but also prevented the development of egocentric attitudes. The expressed fear lest a child be "pleased" too much (that is, lest the child be spoiled) may be understood as a desire to avoid inordinate permissiveness. Apparently it is not rare for permissiveness to be carried to extremes. On the other hand, it must be recognized that some parents exercise closer supervision and stricter discipline than is generally approved of. 15 111x 16

The lack of severe repressive [illegible] cultural routines for himself have consequences not only in further preventing the formation of a strong superego (based on the parental image) but in encouraging resourcefulness and self-sufficiency. They also make any idea of submission distasteful in later life. Such encouragement would be of little avail without the good infantile care which originally prepared the ego to exercise forms of active mastery. Early necessity for resourcefulness, in providing the emotional readiness to learn problem solutions, plays a large role in developing the 1 8x V

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* See Fromm, Selfishness and Self-love (1939), [illegible]; [illegible] (1946), [illegible]; [illegible] as a Disease (1946), [illegible].

155 x181 867 practicality of the Kaska adult. From this we also learn more about how the empirical reality system gets its start in childhood. Among the Kaska, empiricism is related to good infant care, an oedipal pattern which stresses independent learning, discouragement from playing with impractical toys, encouragement of independence and self-sufficiency as defenses against emotional isolation, and the impossibility of overtly indulging passive dependent attitudes in parents.

155 x181 [177] The oedipal pattern we have described can certainly not lead to the projection of a strong authoritarian deity, and indeed the Kaska have refurbished the creation myth partially taken over from the Bible. Jesus (or God) is several times puzzled by his problems and there is no idea of God as omnipotent. The lasting idea of people as fallible and limited in their resources is another effect of the oedipal pattern and goes to reinforce the egocentric dictum: "I must do this by myself."

155 x181 961 The influences of early parental attitudes, in association with moderate ego tonicity, on other aspects of flexibility are not hard to discern. With few rewards for the fulfillment of obligations, children are not required to learn the meaning of futurity. Compulsive qualities like duty and perfectionism are not demanded of the child nor are they available in his social environment for imitation. Similarly such compulsive ways of behaving are not acquired by the child while undergoing toilet training, where the stress on the child's preparedness and conformity are relatively mild. Few rules or formalized methods of procedure are given the child to follow. He sees no emphasis on planning and his moderate ego strength does not lead him to attempt to develop such notions. As a result, the adult is marked by a flexible approach to life which is largely used for passive purposes, to remove him from critical situations which threaten his ego resources.[*]

155 x181 *Identifications.* Important stimulation is given to the dominant motivations by the identifications which the child creates in the oedipal situation. One expression of the effects of these identifications occurs in the conscious and unconscious attitudes characterizing adult interpersonal relations. There is no doubt that in the very early oedipal situation, before the institution of maternal emotional rejection, the mother is the most important figure in the child's life. Largely this importance is due to the mother's gratificatory role, but it also follows from the fact that the father's economic routines frequently separate him from his family. In later childhood the mother remains a powerful and significant figure but the father now becomes an equally important personage and one who suggests himself as a target for identification by children of both sexes. It must be pointed out, however, that identification with a father, or adequate father substitute, is often difficult when families are broken and children are raised by the mother or a mother surrogate like the mother's sister or the child's grandmother. Such broken families are quite common among the Kaska. The structure of the family too has an important bearing on what identifications can be

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[*] Among the South African Lovedu, the absence of stern parental authority also appears to be correlated with a lack of compulsiveness and tolerance for personal variation. In this society, too, we find that sphincter control is not expected before three years of age. Nevertheless there is evidence that Lovedu spontaneity is something different from Kaska flexibility, being related to a feeling for moderation and a distaste for striving. Among the Kaska flexibility is essentially a passive reaction from striving. See Krige and Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (1943), 290-292.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954°ND12 Nahane ND12
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553 the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents.
This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[9]

854 For a year and a half or two years the moss-bag served for carrying the baby. In
this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked.
855 Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a
[856] knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed
the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of
the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined
bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept
in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night
alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed
to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking
and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as
"baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger
and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head,
repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid
duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a
dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong
857 places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were
often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide
lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take
861 over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent,
863 although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant
interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time,
867 a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body
wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together
in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of
intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical
association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet
and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his
son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against
the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided
865 babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become
864 cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing
out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual
curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's
hands were whipped with a willow switch.

868 Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to accompany
his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and
882 become familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with
her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

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[9] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* (1914), 37.